MARCH, 1956

New South

GENUINE ADVISORY COMMITTEES CAN HELP

A. Lee Coleman

A REAL NEED FOR COMMITTEES

Harry Jones

MILITARY BASE SCHOOLS

Lee Nichols

MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT

AUTHERINE LUCY

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New South NOTES

Sound advice and planning by representative community groups and policy making personnel is an important factor in maintaining the "American way of life."

This issue of *New South* presents several articles showing that planning by genuine representative groups can aid a community and what can happen when planning is lacking.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, who has worked extensively with citizens' advisory committees in Kentucky, tells how these committees should work and the advantages they can yield. Along the same line, Harry Jones tells why there is a need for such committees in his home state of North Carolina.

Two articles present the negative side of the picture. In strife-torn Alabama, both the University of Alabama and the City of Montgomery apparently are the victims of unwise planning. Both the university and Montgomery still could profit from sound planning and advice from genuine representative community groups; but in the absence of such, they can only expect worldwide criticism and subsequent irreparable damage.

Continued progress in the South can only come if Southern leaders recognize this great need of wise planning. If they fail to do this, the future of the South is indeed dim.

Rounding out the issue is a series by United Press correspondent, Lee Nichols, who writes on how integration is working in schools on military bases.

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Advisory Committees Can Help

By A. LEE COLEMAN

At its first meeting after the Supreme Court's decree of May 31, 1955, the Kentucky State Board of Education passed a resolution asking that local school boards desegregate as rapidly as possible and that each school district appoint a study committee to consider the issues and work out a plan for meeting the Court's decision. Up until this second ruling of the Court on the public school cases, Kentucky, although generally disposed not to "buck" the Court, had been maintaining a "wait and see" attitude.

When the State Board made its request for study committees a few had already been appointed in Kentucky, and some had been reported from other segregation states. Following the State Board's request, many other study committees were appointed throughout the state although not all of the 220 school districts accepted the idea (37 have no Negro pupils anyhow).

In some cases, no doubt, the appointment of a "study committee" was a delaying or evading tactic. In other cases the committees were or are mostly "on paper" and have not met or actually come to grips with the issue. But others have been real study groups and have had an important part in the decisions that have been made and in insuring the success of plans that are being put into effect. Still, a number of school districts have made successful beginnings of desegregation without having a committee, the school board acting as its own committee. In fact, the districts that were the first to desegregate have for the most part followed this plan.

Perhaps the model for the study committees the State Board had in mind was the Fayette County Advisory Committee on Housing, Transportation, and Desegregation. Appointed in the Fall of 1954, this was the first committee on desegregation in the state, so far as is known. The committee was appointed by the Fayette County School Board and its personnel and assignments were announced in the press. The Supreme Court's decision apparently was the principal reason for the appointment of the committee, but the problems of a fast-growing school population, an emergency created when the principal Negro elementary school burned and questions concerning the minimum distance for school bus transportation were related issues which the school board felt should be considered together.

The Fayette County School District includes all of Fayette County outside the City of Lexington. The independent Lexington city district includes about 55,000 people and the county district has about 50,000, most of them suburban residents. Each district has about 10,000 pupils. The Advisory Committee served only the county district.

The committee had approximately 15 members, chosen to include representatives of the county government, the

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teachers (white and Negro), the ministerial association, the P.T.A., the Chamber of Commerce and the general public (white and Negro). Two of the members were Negroes (only six per cent of the county's school population is Negro). The group met weekly for many weeks. They studied population and enrollment trends, distribution of white and Negro pupils, transportation routes, different plans of desegregation and the distribution of school population under each, building needs and the effects of desegregation on the building program. The administrative staff prepared charts and made special surveys for the committee. After several months of these basic studies, the committee began inviting in interested groups and asking them to make recommendations. Included among the groups invited was the N.A.A.C.P. The writer and other individuals were asked to sit with the committee from time to time as consultants. During the course of its deliberations the committee made several recommendations on specific problems as they came up. Finally, soon after the end of the school year, the committee presented its general recommendations on desegregation to the Board and retired to inactive but "on call" status. The Board followed up by adopting the committee's entire report as official Board policy. This policy calls for general desegregation in the fall of 1956, the retention of all qualified teaching personnel, and certain limited kinds of desegregation prior to fall, 1956. The committee report was publicized after it was adopted by the Board.

Quite in contrast with this was the experience in another county school district only a few miles away. The writer was asked to come to this county to help a newly formed advisory committee get started. The school principal who called said this was to be the second meeting of a committee of about 20 persons. The writer arrived to find that instead of talking informally with a committee he was to address a mass meeting of over 100 persons, many of them obviously hostile to disturbing the segregation status quo. It developed that a rumor had been circulating that there was to be a "vote" on desegregation that night. Although courteous, the crowd asked some very pointed questions and the school people present had rather inadequate answers for them. It turned out that only two of three members of the so-called committee were present; others apparently had left when they saw the crowd. The chairman (a school principal) had no list of the committee members and could not name them all. He wasn't sure whether the committee had been officially appointed by the Board. Some of the committee members were not residents of the school district. The school superintendent was conspicuously absent from the meeting. There had been no official publicity about the committee and rumors had filled the void.

This is enough to indicate that the citizens' advisory committee is no cure-all and does not automatically "work." Careful planning and good leadership are necessary; inept handling can be worse than doing nothing.

In the first place, there is no use having a committee unless the Superintendent and the majority of the Board are convinced that changes will have to be made or at least that there is an issue. The board, after all, is the only repository of official policy-making authority and there is no point in an officially appointed committee unless the Board intends, at least, to give careful consideration to the committee's recommendations. Of course there is nothing to stop a purely voluntary committee from constituting itself and making recommenda-

tions to the Board. In some situations such a voluntary group may do important work, but the chances of its recommendations becoming official policy are obviously less than for the semi-official group. And in any case it should be clear to all whether a committee is voluntary or officially appointed.

However the planning of local policy on desegregation is done, a basic idea is that this should be approached like any other community problem — the issues and alternatives should be considered as objectively as possible and the community should work toward a constructive solution, keeping down emotions as much as possible.

The citizens advisory committee would seem to have three principal functions: (1) To secure greater representation of the various groups and elements in the community. Most school boards are relatively small (in Kentucky they have five members) and thereby limited in their representativeness. Since relatively few Negroes are on school boards (in Kentucky there are none) an advisory committee may be the best way to give the Negroes of the district a voice in these decisions that so vitally affect them. (2) To force more of the responsible, respected people of the community to face the issues and share the responsibility for the decisions made. It is easy to criticize when one does not have official responsibility. Well-meaning people may refuse to face the facts and think through the issues unless they have to. Participation in an advisory committee may be a means of forcing a greater number of community leaders into facing the issues and alternatives and sharing in the decisions. (3) To help "sell" and carry out the policy that is adopted. People who have helped make a decision will usually be much more willing to help put it over.

If in a given situation or school district an advisory committee cannot be expected to serve these functions there may be considerable question as to the advisability of having one. The Board may be better advised to act as its own committee or appoint a subcommittee of its own members.

If a committee is to be appointed, here are some suggestions that may be useful:

1. Make clear its semi-official status — that it is appointed by the Board and its recommendations will be strongly considered, but only the Board has legal authority. Persons or groups that wish to influence segregation — desegregation policy should be channeled to the committee.
2. Give adequate but not excessive publicity to the appointment of the committee, its personnel, its status, and its assignment. During the course of its deliberations too much publicity may hamper the committee but complete secrecy would defeat the purposes.
3. The committee should avoid mass meetings or mass delegations but should give representatives of groups and interests a chance to be heard, at the proper time.
4. The superintendent will presumably recommend the persons to be included, after careful study and consultation, but the Board should appoint them. The persons to be appointed should represent different groups and interests in the community, but they should also be widely known and respected individuals. They should not include just those known to favor desegregation, but on the other hand there is no use including persons known to be violently opposed to changing the status quo. Rather, the effort

"The chief lawmakers in our country may be, and often are, the judges, because they are the final seat of authority. Every time they interpret contract, property, vested rights, due process of law, liberty, they necessarily enact into law part of a system of social philosophy; and as such interpretation is fundamental, they give direction to all law-making. The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy; and for the peaceful progress of our people during the twentieth century we shall owe most to those judges who hold to a twentieth century economic and social philosophy and not to a long outgrown philosophy, which was itself the product of primitive economic conditions." — President Theodore Roosevelt in his message to Congress on December 8, 1908.

should be to include people who are respected by the opponents. Persons who will be important in carrying out the decisions because of official positions they hold should be included. This would include local government and law enforcement officials, teachers, parent-teacher representatives, and others. Representatives of different segments and statuses in the Negro community should be included.

5. The superintendent, other administrative staff, and board members probably should meet with the committee at least a part of the time. They will need to keep in touch with the committee and know the basis for its conclusions, and they will need to supply information to the committee from time to time.

If the Board acts as its own committee it probably will want to go through much the same procedure as in the case of the advisory committee — study population distribution and trends, hear from interested groups, and help people face the issues and alternatives realistically. After a desegregation policy has been arrived at, whether through a committee or otherwise, there remains the task of planning for putting it into operation. If a committee has assisted in its formulation, the committee can help in preparing for and executing the plan. However, if there has been no committee up to this point, the Board will perhaps be best advised to rely on the PTA, teachers' organizations, and other existing organizations for help in "selling" and effectuating the plan.

If actual desegregation should begin without advance planning — perhaps by court order — the need for planning may then be even greater than before. But perhaps this can be handled through existing organizations. In some situations a citizens' committee of some kind might prove useful in making the transition as smoothly as possible.

In attempting to solve the current problems of desegregation planning in local communities we seem to be uncovering a broader problem of our public school systems — one of inadequate communication between school people and the public, poor public relations, and a lack of democratic participation in planning. It may be that the citizens' advisory committees on desegregation, if they are generally successful, will have some carry over and help set a pattern for the solution or amelioration of long-term educational problems.

Committees Are Needed

By HARRY JONES

Executive Director, N. C. Council on Human Relations

This is a portion of the statement made by Mr. Jones in answering the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education when that group called for discontinuance of advisory committees.

My contacts throughout the state lead me to believe that there is a willingness and a readiness on the part of many school boards to begin desegregating their schools in September, 1956. In many communities I have found interracial study committees hard at work on this problem. They are honestly and sincerely attempting to formulate plans which will meet the requirements of the Supreme Court, but which will cause the least amount of friction and dislocation in the operation of their schools. This they conceive to be their duty.

These study committees and the school boards which appointed them are conscious of their obligations to respect and to obey the supreme law of the land. They also take seriously their authority and responsibility for the assignment of pupils.

In the appointment of study committees, school boards have followed the advice and counsel of the Governor and his Advisory Committee on Education. But many have gone beyond that advice in appointing *interracial* committees, knowing that it is good sense and good democratic procedure to give Negroes representation and participation in the making of plans which will affect Negro as well as white children.

To call a halt to the activities of these study committees at this time would mean calling a halt to a significant progress which is being made in dealing with the current problem. It would also mean, it seems to me, undue interference in the exercise of the rights, and in the discharge of the responsibilities of local school boards.

The State Advisory Committee on Education is, as its name indicates, purely advisory. It may render a real service to local school boards in their efforts to comply with the Supreme Court decision. But it may also render a disservice . . . .

Delay in carrying forward plans for desegregation may mean that at some future date all schools in the state may be under compulsion to comply with the law all at once. This would be most unfortunate. Communities differ widely throughout the state. Problems are not the same . . . .

Much has been said of late about the preservation of states' rights. This is a sound principle. But what about the rights, and indeed the obligations, of local communities to use their own initiative and judgment in dealing with the current school problem?

Informed sources report that Charlotte's school desegregation committee will keep on working despite the advice of the state committee. It is hoped that many others will do so. Governor Hodges has admitted that the suggestion of the state committee may have been unfortunate. "Local committees," he said, "are needed because the whole thing is going to be settled on a local basis."

INTEGRATION IN MILITARY BASE SCHOOLS

By LEE NICHOLS

The following two articles, reprinted here by permission from the United Press, were written by Mr. Nichols while on tour of military establishments in the South. The first deals with schools on bases; the second concerns the relationship of a deep South community to a nearby military base which has integrated schools.

Eglin Air Force Base, Fla. — First grade students at the new brick-and-glass school listened as their pretty young Mississippi teacher counted three rabbits and wrote "3" on the board.

A blonde girl in a pink dress was summoned to the board and marked "2" after two houses. A dark-skinned Negro girl with pigtails marched up and scrawled a "3" after three apples.

Back at their shared table, the white girl hugged the Negro child in the spontaneous enthusiasm of childhood.

Across the South, where schools have been racially segregated for generations and many spokesmen loudly oppose any change, Negro and white children are sitting together in classrooms on military posts without fuss or fanfare.

The percentage of Negro pupils involved is tiny compared with most nearby communities. Their parents usually rank well above the economic and education levels of surrounding Negro cottonfield hands and laborers. Many of the white military personnel involved are from northern states where school integration is an accepted fact. Moreover, military people are accustomed to obeying orders.

But southern white civilian teachers are teaching voluntarily in the integrated post schools. Southern parents send their children off to school daily with Negro youngsters. And some southern educators and observers are watching the military experiment closely as a pilot operation that may help point the way to eventual compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation edict.

De-segregation of schools on southern military posts, begun during the Truman administration, was all but completed this fall under an Eisenhower administration order banning separate racial schools after Sept. 1.

Some 27 post schools, almost all at the elementary level, are now operating on an integrated basis in 10 southern and border states. Sole exceptions are at Army Posts at Fort Meade, Md., and Pine Bluff Arsenal, Ark., where the Government extended its deadline. All post schools in the "Deep South" are run by the Armed Forces since local officials refused to operate integrated schools except in states like Maryland and Texas.

This reporter visited four typical post schools. Two — in Florida and Texas — were integrated this fall, one in Alabama last fall and the fourth, in Georgia, in September, 1953.

Without exception post commanders, school officials, teachers and parents said the schools were working smoothly with but rare instances of minor racial friction. The small number of Negroes involved almost certainly had a bearing on this.

At this 800-mile-square Air Force

Proving ground on Florida's Gulf Coast, Dr. James N. Luton, Tennessee-born principal, had no racial breakdown on his pupils. He had to count faces to discover he had nine Negroes among his 802 students.

Orus Kinney, assistant principal fresh from segregated Alabama schools, said integration "is working fine here." He said neither he nor his wife, teaching at Eglin, had any hesitation about instructing Negroes and whites together at the Air Force-operated school.

"It doesn't matter who the child is," said Kinney. "The more people we educate the better off we are, particularly in the south."

He knew of but one teacher who turned down a job on the Post because of integration.

The sole Negro on the staff of 32 was the school librarian. Kenney said it was "right" to hire a Negro teacher. He said she was fully acceptable to the other teachers, nearly all southerners.

Miss C, a young white teacher born and educated in Mississippi, had taught a year in an all-white school in Meridian, Miss., before coming to Eglin. She said she was the envy of other first grade teachers because she drew the school's only Negro first grader.

"D - - - is very appealing," Miss C said of her pig-tailed pupil. "She was at the class average when school started and now is ahead. She dresses way above average. Her speech is funny. She said, 'Miz C, you fo-got yoah loon.' She had to point to a balloon before I understood. But she'll talk like the rest before long."

A white Mississippi mother, whose 11-year-old daughter attends Eglin's Fifth grade, said she is "not opposed to integration at all." She was against racial intermarriage but did not think an integrated school would lead her daughter to marry a Negro.

The Negro librarian, a native of South Carolina whose son attends the Eglin School, said the teachers and school officials were "wonderful" to her and there were "no references — none" to her race. Her husband, a sergeant from Mississippi, said their son was better off in an integrated school because he would progress faster and "know how to conduct himself with other races."

This general picture, with variations, was duplicated at the three other Posts. Here are thumbnail sketches of their integrated schools:

Fort Benning, Ga. — integrated in fall of 1953 . . . now has about 1,700 white and 35 Negro pupils in three Army-run schools covering grades 1-8 and kindergarten. . . . No Negro teachers on staff of 67 but may hire some in a year or two, possibly starting with kindergarten or art teachers. . . . Mrs. Hazel J. Scudder, Arkansas-born widow of decorated Korean war veteran, knew of no parents who withdrew children because of integration . . . two Georgia teachers declined to renew contracts due to desegregation but most teachers now are Georgians and Alabamans. . . . Negro sergeant reported white child called his son "Nigger" and the name-caller was shunned by white classmates. . . . Negro girl elected Queen of her 4th grade class . . . Negro boy won school marbles championship but couldn't compete in area match because of race.

Sheppard Air Force Base, Tex. — Local school district running post school on integrated basis for first time. . . . 484

white and 12 Negro children in grades 1-6. . . . No Negro teachers applied but principal Marcus Anderson willing to have them if qualified. . . . Anderson, native of East Texas, State's most heavily-Negro area, "glad" of integration "Because I believe all children should have an equal opportunity regardless of race.". . . Negro boy hurt because classmates didn't help him with Hallowe'en mask; white boy found out and tearfully told teacher; hands shot up all over room when teacher asked for volunteers to help Negro.

Military Base in Ala. — Name of base withheld because Commander concerned about local relations. . . . Military-operated post elementary school integrated in September, 1954 . . . two Negro children attended until father transferred overseas in January. . . . No Negroes among 200-plus white pupils but could be any time parents move into post quarters. . . . Principal, young native Alabaman, said no difficulty with two Negro students . . . at least one teaching applicant did not return because of integration. . . . Negro teachers applying were not qualified, no objection to hiring if were. . . . No trouble with nearby Blanktown, and complete though unofficial cooperation from local, county and state school officials on school matters.

WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Blanktown, Ala. — The speaker's voice rose and fell on the silent heads of the crowd that almost filled the big school auditorium.

"Integration of the races in our schools will lead to intermarriage and mongrelization of the white race," he said.

"My church, the Methodist Church. has endorsed racial mixing and I'm heah to tell you I'm ashamed of my church and the Democratic Party. They're acting like durned fools."

Laughter and applause broke out among the audience, chiefly neatly-dressed, gray-haired men with a scattering of women and younger men. They were attending a meeting of the Citizen's Council of this medium-sized city in Central Alabama's "Black Belt," one of a growing number of such groups dedicated to preserve school segregation despite the Supreme Court's integration edict.

Blanktown is not the real name of the city, of course. But this reporter was permitted to attend the "closed" meeting only on condition that he not name the city or identify the participants. They included the Mayor, a leading judge and other prominent citizens.

The speaker continued.

"We must educate our children not to be taken in by the propaganda of the Northern politicians and the Northern Press," he thundered. "Every day we can keep the Negro vote from increasing. keep down new petitions for integration, we are that much to the good."

No word was spoken of violence or economic reprisals, although several Negroes who signed integration petitions in Blanktown had lost their jobs. The speaker mentioned President Eisenhower's desegregation of military post schools but said nothing about the nearby military base whose elementary school had been integrated in 1954.

The chairman of The Citizens' Council and the judge talked freely after being informed they would not be named. Both said they had no concern about racial mixing at the base or its school.

The Chairman, an elderly professional man, said "our policy is to avoid fric-

tion with the Base. We're glad to have it here. It means a lot to us economically."

He said the base school, which had two Negro pupils last year and none now, was not an accurate reflection of the integration problem.

"In my opinion, if 85 to 95 per cent of the population of Blanktown were white and the rest Negro, we'd have no problem at all," he said. "We wouldn't think any more of Negroes going to school than Indians or Chinese."

But he said Negroes in that area, outnumbering whites 7 to 1, were mostly illiterate cotton pickers and cornfield hands, responsible for nearly all the area's crime, venereal disease and Welfare cases.

The judge, in a separate interview, said the city is spending millions to equalize Negro and white schools with a view to raising the standards of local Negroes.

"We've got to work it out over a long period of time," he added.

"I don't like to be defeatist, but I know integration is coming," said the Council Chairman. "The Northern magazines, newspapers, the Negro vote, the pressure will win in the end."

He said talk of racial intermarriage actually "doesn't count for much — there's too much pride of race for that." The threat of economic pressure, he added, has been "overstated — you can't do much with that."

Education Stressed

He stressed the goal of "educating" school children and the public against integration. He conceded the Council's "educational" work may have sparked the firing of the Negroes. But he said the group is opposed to violence or other unlawful measures.

"All we can do is delay it and every day we do I'm glad," he said. "The FBI asked me what would happen if Negroes were ordered into school with whites this fall and I told them a lot of people would be killed. I don't like violence, but we can't prevent individual violent actions."

No Pressure

The young principal of the military post school, a native Alabaman, said no pressure had been brought against him because of his job.

Although local officials refused to run an unsegregated school on the Post, the principal said he got "complete" unofficial cooperation from city, county and state school agencies on problems of curriculum, textbooks and other matters. The city let the base school share in its Group Hospitalization program for teachers.

"Money talks," the principal said.

He and other teachers at the post school draw bigger salaries than local teachers, the extra compensation being for loss of retirement rights and other benefits of the state school system, extra travel costs and other factors. City school officials said the principal wouldn't get teachers for an unsegregated school "but I had five of them hanging on my coattails."

The young Alabaman agreed it would be difficult to integrate schools in Blanktown under current conditions. "But under the right circumstances, like we have here at the Base, I would not object," he said. "I think if definite goals were set, instead of just letting things drift, it would work itself out."

The Base Commander added this comment: "If folks down here would spend as much time trying to solve this problem as they do fighting it, it could be licked in apple pie order."

Intimidation Stiffens Montgomery Boycott

Indications are that the mass arrests of Negro leaders in the now-famous Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott have only served to stiffen the passive resistance of the town's Negro citizens against undue discrimination.

Currently, law enforcement officers have arrested 90 Negroes at the instigation of the grand jury. The charge is that the Negroes did "without just cause or legal excuse for so doing, enter into a combination conspiracy, agreement, arrangement or understanding, for the purpose of hindering, delaying, preventing the Montgomery City Lines, Inc., from carrying on a lawful business."

The background of the case, briefly, is:

On December 1, a Negro seamstress was arrested when she refused to give her bus seat to white people. A protest by Negro citizens quickly grew into a mass boycott. Negroes ask three things of bus company officials. These are (1) more courteous treatment; (2) seating on a first come, first served basis, with Negroes seating from the rear, whites from the front; and (3) hiring of Negro bus drivers for predominantly Negro routes. Bus company and city officials are only willing to concede the first request.

Montgomery's Mayor, W. A. Gayle, announced a "get tough" policy following the breakdown of negotiations between city officials and the Negro groups, and subsequently boycott leaders were intimidated through a series of arrests for minor offense. Then bombs were exploded at the homes of two of the boycott leaders. Now come the indictments and arrests.

The ironic aspect of the situation is that it would have been so easy for city fathers and bus company officials to concede to these wishes and still maintain segregation. Negro leaders pointed out that they were not challenging segregation.

However, as a result of continued stubbornness on the part of officials, a suit has been filed by a group of Negroes, who seek to have Alabama and Montgomery transportation laws requiring segregation declared unconstitutional. Even here, city officials have resorted to intimidation in that they are seeking to disbar the lawyer for the Negro group on charges of representing a woman without her approval. Indications are that the Negro woman withdrew from the suit after intimidation from the white community.

The boycott hurt the bus company tremendously in the beginning; and al-

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AND AUTHERINE LUCY

Planning on the part of pro-segregation groups and the lack of planning on the part of University of Alabama officials apparently were the chief factors in the recent demonstrations against Autherine Lucy at the University.

Other factors, such as apathy on the part of law enforcement officers, played a part in allowing the mob a free hand; but the matter of planning was the major factor.

The policy of officials of the university, according to reliable information, was one of admitting Miss Lucy with no special preparations except those accorded all other students. Although desegregation in other Southern universities (for example at the University of North Carolina) usually has been accomplished through faculty and student planning, indications are that there would have been little trouble in admitting Miss Lucy without this planning had it not been for "outsiders."

The number of students actually engaged in agitation against the Negro co-ed is estimated at less than a hundred although curiosity seekers swelled the number of students at the scene. The bulk of the agitators were made up of factory workers and other outsiders with the backing of white-supremacy organizations centered in Birmingham.

For instance, it is known that an official of one of these organizations stated in Birmingham two weeks prior to the demonstrations that such an event would take place. The official also stated that care must be taken that the demonstration did not turn into another "Georgia Tech," that is, a demonstration for Miss Lucy rather than against her.

Added evidence that racist groups anticipated the demonstration is the fact that a top official of the North Alabama White Citizens' Council was identified as being on the university campus during the week prior to the mob action. Then, too, "outsiders" from Chilton County, Alabama, were present at the demonstrations; and a White Citizens' Council representative from Montgomery had been in the Chilton area during the week prior to the demonstrations.

Other evidence that the racists were on hand included the fact that "hate" literature was distributed under their imprint.

Aiding this planning on the part of the negative forces was the lack of attempt by both Tuscaloosa and university law enforcement officers to break up the demonstrations. Observers saw one Tuscaloosa policeman chanting with the demonstrators; and at another time, a university policeman was seen turning his back on demonstrators throwing eggs and rocks at a bus. The State Patrol

Prejudice and discrimination in sports recently cost Birmingham, Alabama, both financially and entertainment-wise. Due to the ban on interracial sports teams in the steel city, exhibition games between the Milwaukee Braves and Brooklyn Dodgers and the Kansas City Athletics and Pittsburgh Pirates were cancelled.

Donald Davidson, public relations director of the Braves, said: "We do not schedule a game in any city where all of the players on both clubs are not permitted to participate in the game." New Orleans and Chattanooga are the happy recipients of the cancelled Birmingham games.

One wonders how the city fathers will go about protecting Birmingham sports fans from the "evils" of integrated sports come the World Series. Will Birmingham television sets be blacked out or will avid fans again glue themselves to TV screens as they have in the past?

reportedly was under order not to lay a hand on any student.

The Autherine Lucy case has not been resolved as this article goes to press, but indications are that university officials, faculty, and students now are drawing up plans to try to maintain law and order on the campus in the event Miss Lucy is readmitted.

Apparently Alabama's Governor Jim Folsom also has given some thought to the effect of international publicity concerning Alabama. Just prior to the court session on whether Miss Lucy should be readmitted to the university, Governor Folsom said, "I visited the campus to reassure Dr. Carmichael (president of the university) that I would do all in my power to maintain law and order on the campus in cooperation with local officials. We want to protect the lives of the students at the university and to do that we must maintain law and order. That's what I'm going to go all out to do — protect the students."

If Governor Folsom and university officials follow this procedure, then the matter can be resolved in the American way.

Montgomery Boycott

(Continued from Page 10)

though the revenue has been increased by upping bus fares, it is the white rider who is paying to help make up the income loss. The city also loses indirectly since a percentage of the bus company's gross goes to the city treasury.

Mayor Gayle denies that retail trade has been hurt, but reliable sources report that downtown trade is off, although it is difficult to estimate just how much. At least, the Men of Montgomery, who represent the business group, tried unsuccessfully to effect a compromise agreement.

No one knows what Montgomery city officials hope to gain by their tactics since each move has only served to make the boycott more effective. A good example is what happened after the mass arrests, which included many Negro ministers. A 75-year-old Negro woman was given a ride by one of the many volunteer drivers. Said the woman: "I've been riding the buses all through the boycott because I'm old and sick; but since they arrested my pastor, I'll walk from now on if necessary."

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"We might as well be candid. Most of those laws (strong pro-segregation laws passed by the 1956 Georgia Legislature) will be stricken down by the courts in due course." — Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia.

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"The court cannot be expected, nor will it tolerate delays solely for the purpose of obviating its decree. That much it has made quite clear. Therefore it ill behooves Florida — or any other state — to center all its energies on how best to keep the schools segregated. It's a lost cause. A lot of heartache, a lot of hard feeling, much confusion can be avoided on the local level, and the prestige of the State of Florida bolstered on the state level by concentrating on how to carry out the court's decree most smoothly and efficiently, rather than engaging in a futile, bitter, long drawn out battle — doomed in the end to failure." — From the Florida *Clearwater Sun.*

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"A year ago, the 106th Annual Council went on record as standing behind the decision of the Supreme Court of this land to outlaw segregation in the public schools. . . . Since that time the implementation of the decision has sharpened sensitivities and heightened racial tensions in many areas — as always happens when the majesty of the law is pitted against the long-prevailing mores of a community. In some places groups of citizens have banded together for the purpose of nullifying the effect of the Supreme Court's ruling in their own localities. Some states have signified their intentions, through their administrations, or the ballot box, to circumvent that decision. I would feel recreant in my responsibility as Bishop of this Diocese if I did not caution communicants of this Church to weigh carefully the implications of such citizens' groups with the avowed purpose of defying the law of the land. Any strategy adopted by such concerned groups must square with the Christian doctrine of God and Man or do violence to the faith which our church people profess." — The Rt. Reverend John E. Hines, the Bishop of Texas of the Episcopal Church.

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"The theory of interposition is without sound legal basis as applied to segregation. Of course it is true that the Supreme Court may not prevent a state from exercising rights reserved under the Tenth Amendment. But the states agreed in the Fourteenth Amendment not to 'abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.' The States also agreed in Article III of the Constitution that 'the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court.' The interposition theory may represent good wishful thinking but it represents a poor quality of Constitutional law." — Wilbur La Roe in the *Presbyterian Outlook.*

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"We urge that local people — of all groups — come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we — the people of the Appalachian South, so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world." — From a resolution adopted at the 44th Annual Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc., Gatlinburg, Tennessee.